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THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE *KINDER- UND HAUS-MÄRCHEN* OF THE BROTHERS GRIMM. I

PREFATORY NOTE

The following history of the external development of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm was begun early in 1912, as a slight contribution to the centenary of the publication of the first volume of the collection. At that time Bolte and Polívka's splendid *Anmerkungen* had not appeared, and Panzer's reprint of the first edition was not yet issued. I had not gone far in my work when a domestic bereavement and the unexpected recall to active academic life took me from all scholarly work for over a year. When I was able to resume my labors, I experienced the usual difficulty in obtaining my materials. The first seven editions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, the only editions of value for the text or of interest for the history of the individual tales, are all scarce, some of them excessively so. A visit to Munich in the summer of 1914 afforded me an opportunity to examine the first edition in the copy used by Panzer for his reprint. The second edition, 1819, I have seen in the copies belonging to Harvard College Library and to the Boston Athenaeum Library. The third edition, 1837, was kindly collated for me by Mr. J. A. Herbert from the copy in the British Museum. The fourth edition, 1840, is extremely scarce, and I have to thank Dr. Johannes Bolte of Berlin for a collation of it from the copy in the Provinzialbibliothek of Hanover, as there was, apparently, no copy in Berlin. There is a copy of the fifth edition, 1843, in the Library of Congress,

which I have used. The sixth edition, 1850, was collated for me in the summer of 1914 by my colleague, Professor P. R. Pope, from the copy in the Heidelberg Library. Professor B. J. Vos of the Indiana University kindly loaned me his copy of this edition. Professor Vos, I may remark, is the fortunate owner of the second, fifth, sixth, and seventh editions. The seventh edition, 1857 (with third volume of *Notes*, third edition, 1856), the so-called "Grosse Ausgabe," or definitive edition, is not so scarce as the others, and I have used the copy in the Cornell University Library, which came from the Library of Friedrich Zarncke.

The publication of Bolte and Polívka's *Anmerkungen* and Panzer's reprint in 1913 and 1915 were of great help to me, and at the same time made me hesitate about continuing my work. But, valuable as the above-mentioned works are, the information contained in them is so scattered that it is difficult for the student to form a clear idea of the formal development of the collection. Besides it is uncertain when the monumental work of Bolte and Polívka will be completed. The second volume stops with the 120th story. The editors promise for the last volume a survey of the literature used by them, a list of incidents (*Motivregister*), a systematic index of the subject-matter of the tales (*systematisches Verzeichnis der Märchenstoffe*), and a "brief account of the way in which the imperishable, youthful work of the Brothers Grimm was accomplished and its influence on readers (*Geniessende*) and scholars."

My purpose in the following article is a very modest and unoriginal one. I intend, as well as I can, to give an account of the inception of the collection, its purpose, and the outward changes it underwent until it reached in 1857 its definitive form. I have not treated the questions of the literary origins of the individual stories, or of the stylistic revision to which the editors subjected their work for many years. These questions have already been thoroughly discussed by Hermann Hamann, *Die literarischen Vorlagen der Kinder- und Hausmärchen und ihre Bearbeitung durch die Brüder Grimm*, Berlin, 1906 (*Palaestra*, XLVII), and by Ernest Tonnelat, *Les contes des frères Grimm. Etude sur la composition et le style du recueil des Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Paris, 1912. The latter subject is treated more briefly by Panzer in his reprint of the first edition.

In addition to the works mentioned above I am greatly indebted to the admirable book of Ernest Tonnellat, *Les frères Grimm. Leur œuvre de jeunesse*, Paris, 1912. The biographical material which I have used consists largely of the fragmentary "Selbstbiographie" of Jacob and Wilhelm, to be found in their *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1864, Vol. I, 1-24; Berlin, 1881, Vol. I, 1-27; the eulogy pronounced in 1860 on Wilhelm by Jacob, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 163-77; and the correspondence: *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm aus der Jugendzeit*, Weimar, 1881, *Freundesbriefe von Wilhelm und Jacob Grimm*, Heilbronn, 1878. Especially valuable is Reinhold Steig's *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen. Dritter Band, Achim von Arnim und Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1894. There is a peculiarly delightful account of the brothers' youth in Ludwig Emil Grimm's *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 29-94. The documents concerning the service of Jacob and Wilhelm in Hesse are to be found in E. Stengel's *Private und amtliche Beziehungen der Brüder Grimm zu Hessen*, Vol. II, Marburg, 1886. I have also consulted the biographies by Albert Duncker, *Die Brüder Grimm*, Kassel, 1884, Wilhelm Scherer, *Jacob Grimm*, zweite Auflage, Berlin, 1885, and especially *Die Brüder Grimm* (Erinnerungen von Herman Grimm), printed as an *Anleitung* to the *Jubiläums-Auflage* of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, besorgt von Reinhold Steig, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1912.

I must ask kindly consideration for an article prepared so fitfully and amid so many distractions, but I trust this account of the inception and development of an immortal work, although it is confined to its external history, may attract students to the enjoyment of its perennial freshness and unchanging beauty.

I. THE EXTERNAL HISTORY

In the year 1915 occurred the anniversaries of the completion of two of the most entertaining and popular books of the world. I allude to the three hundredth anniversary of the publication of the second part of *Don Quixote*, and the hundredth anniversary of the publication of the second volume of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm. It is not inappropriate in these troublous times to dwell at some length on the work which was put

forth in the fateful years of 1812 to 1815, when Germany was in truth fighting for her national existence. I hope at some later day to consider the immortal romance which was penned by a very noble soldier who believed that the true end of war was the attainment of peace.

The two brothers, who were to confer on their country imperishable glory and set an undying example of fraternal affection and unselfish devotion to intellectual pursuits, were born at Hanau in Hesse, Jacob on January 4, 1785, and Wilhelm on February 24, 1786. Of a family of nine children, six survived infancy, a sister and five brothers, one of whom, Ludwig, was later distinguished as an artist and died only a few months before his brother Jacob, who outlived all the others. In 1791 the family removed to Steinau, where the father had been appointed district magistrate, and where the grandfather was pastor and inspector of pastors for forty-seven years.¹

Many years later, Wilhelm visited Steinau and revived the recollections of his childhood. He got the key of the church where his grandfather, nearly a century before, had preached his first sermon. The sunlight fell through the lofty windows upon the pavement of the church, which was covered with tombstones, some dating back to the sixteenth century. There Wilhelm saw the names of two uncles, and between the altar and the pulpit the stone which covered the grave of his grandmother, over which, he says, his grandfather must have walked every Sunday for twenty years to reach his pulpit.²

Jacob's memory of his childhood was very vivid, and in a letter to his brother Ferdinand he relates how one winter night he accompanied his father to a neighboring village where he had to examine some people in a room dimly lighted and filled with peasants and tobacco smoke. He also recalled standing by the window at his father's side early in the morning and watching the maids in the street carrying on their heads pails of water in which the sunbeams were reflected.³

¹ A delightful account of the early history of the Grimm family may be found in Ludwig Emil Grimm's *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, Leipzig, 1911. The work contains portraits of the family and their friends and of the abodes occupied by them in Steinau and Cassel.

W. Grimm, "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 7.

² J. Grimm, "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 23.

The father died in 1796, and the eleven-year-old Jacob always remembered the black coffin and the bearers with lemons and rosemary in their hands.¹ The mother's means were small and the rearing of the six little children was a heavy burden. Two years after their father's death, thanks to the generosity of an aunt, who was in the service of the landgravine, Jacob and Wilhelm were sent to Cassel to the lyceum, where they spent four strenuous years in preparation for the university. While grateful for the many things he learned in this period, Jacob, later, had no very high opinion of the school, and it always rankled in his mind that one of the teachers addressed him in the third person, *er*, while all his comrades from the city received the *Sie*. Only one of the teachers, the rector Richter, made an impression on Jacob, and he was weakened by extreme old age.²

In the spring of 1802, a year sooner than Wilhelm, who was long and dangerously ill at this time, Jacob entered the University of Marburg. The lad of seventeen had no pronounced tastes, but prepared himself for a legal career, partly because it had been his father's profession, and partly because it was his mother's wish. "What do children or youths," he wrote later, "at the time when they make such definite resolutions, understand of the true importance of such a study? There is, however, in this clinging to a father's profession something natural, harmless, and even advisable. Much later in life I would have been inclined to no other science, unless perhaps to botany."³

Although Jacob's mother was the widow of a state official and brought up five sons for the public service, none of them received any state aid. On the other hand, one of Jacob's school comrades, a member of the nobility and destined to become some day one of the wealthiest landed proprietors, received the richest stipends. Jacob says, what has been the experience of so many other students, that "poverty spurs one to diligence and labor, protects from many distractions, and inspires a not ignoble pride, which maintains a consciousness of one's own merits in contrast to those which rank and wealth bestow." He then makes a remark of great interest for the present: "I might even make my statement more general and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

attribute much of what the Germans have accomplished to the fact that they are not a rich people. They work from the bottom up and open for themselves many paths peculiarly their own, whereas other nations travel more upon a broad, smooth highway."¹

The unformed lad arrived at Marburg thinking that there was no difference between the professors, and believing that all were equally good. But his eyes were opened and his whole future life decided (although he never became a jurist) when he entered the classroom of Friedrich Karl von Savigny, then privat dozent in law, and little more than five years older than his pupil. He had taken his degree at Marburg in 1800, and three years later was appointed extraordinary professor and published his epoch-making treatise *Das Recht des Besizes*.

Savigny was of a noble and wealthy family and married in 1804 Kunigunde Brentano, the sister of Clemens and Elisabeth ("Bet-tina"), the latter of whom lived with the Savignys at Marburg from 1804 to 1806. What an important bearing all this had on Jacob and Wilhelm will presently appear. The impression which Savigny made on Jacob was overpowering. In an essay in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of Savigny's doctorate Jacob says: "I came to Marburg knowing nothing of any difference between professors and believing all equally good. Soon I imperceptibly learned that your lectures were the dearest to me, all the others were not half so dear, and I not only listened to you, I stamped upon my memory your looks and gestures, and afterwards in Paris, whither you had summoned me, walking or working with you I kept my eyes constantly directed at you as my shining example." In the same article he says: "I confess myself your pupil, yet the pupil has become unlike his teacher, dissimilar in almost everything. By the breath of your kind instruction you awakened my mind so that it assumed a scientific temper, and since all sciences at bottom are one, and the four faculties combine in one great one, your influence on me has lasted, your example impelled me where my desire of learning settled on fields which your own feet never trod. The Roman law, it is true, did not long attract me, but an inward call and the presence of outward events diverted me from it."²

¹ J. Grimm, "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 114.

Over the chasm of half a century Jacob could still see the tall slight figure of his beloved teacher, his gray coat, his brown silk waistcoat with blue stripes, his dark hair hanging straight down. The cordial encouragement, the proffers of aid, the refined manners, the cheerful humor, the free and independent personality, could never be forgotten, or how he stood before his class at his desk, with his students hanging on his every word.¹

Never to be forgotten, too, was the summer day in 1803 when Jacob visited his professor in his house, that was perched like a nest on the steep hillside of Marburg. The sunny rooms, the floors of fir boards, the white walls hung with engravings, above all, the shelves of books, made an indelible impression on the needy scholar who had seen few books besides his schoolbooks and those his father had left. Jacob recalled even the way in which the books were arranged, mostly in the usual order, but some in a reversed one, "as Hebrew is written from right to left." Savigny defended his method and told his pupil to climb the ladder and look more closely. "Then," writes Jacob, "my eyes beheld what they had never seen before; I remember that as you entered the door, just behind it, on the wall to the right stood a quarto volume, Bodmer's collection of the *Minnelieder*, which I seized and opened for the first time. There was to be read 'Her Jacob von Warte,' and 'Her Kristan von Hamle,' with poems in strange, half-incomprehensible German, that filled me with a strange presentiment. Who could then have told me that I should read this book through from beginning to end twenty times perhaps and never be without it! It stood on your shelves in idle display: you surely have never read it. Then, however, my incipient inclination did not venture to borrow it from you; but it remained so fixed in my memory that a few years later in the Paris library I did not cease to call for the manuscript which was its source, to gaze upon its attractive illuminations and to copy passages from it. Such glimpses kept alive in me the greatest desire to read and understand our old poets."²

Jacob would not have been so moved by the sight of Bodmer's volume had he not already made some acquaintance with his future

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

field of study. In the above-mentioned year, 1803, appeared *Minnelieder aus dem Schwäbischen Zeitalter neu bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Ludwig Tieck*. Many years later Tieck said of this work: "In the solitude of the country I chanced upon the study of the *Minnesänger* collected by Manesse, after I had already read with diligence and care the *Nibelungen* and the *Heldenbuch*. These charming songs intoxicated me with joy and delight. I tried to translate them in my way and prepared the introduction according to my knowledge at that time. Since then much has been done for these studies, but with the exception of some earlier appeals, mine was the first exhortation and encouragement to the knowledge of this literature. Jacob Grimm confessed to me that this work first directed his attention to this world of poetry and incited him to devote his labors to this field of study."¹ Jacob himself expressly states in his autobiography that it was Tieck's book and its enchanting preface which has aroused his interest in Bodmer's work.²

The vocation of the brothers was definitely decided by two causes: the intimacy with Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano and the political events which resulted in the creation of the kingdom of Westphalia. Savigny, as has already been stated, married Brentano's sister Kunigunde, and his house became for a time the home of another sister, Elisabeth, famous in German literature as "Bettina," who married Achim von Arnim in 1811. Clemens was much in Marburg between 1800 and 1804, and during this period was engaged with his future brother-in-law in collecting the materials for *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. The friendship which Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm then formed with Achim von Arnim and "Bettina" lasted for life, and, as we shall presently see, the first edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* was dedicated to "Elisabeth von Arnim für den kleinen Johannes Freimund" (her infant son).³

The first part of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* appeared in the autumn of 1805. What share, if any, the Grimms had in it does not appear. In July of the following year Brentano wrote to Arnim:

¹ L. Tieck, *Kritische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1848, Vol. I, p. ix.

² J. Grimm, "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 6.

³ The relation of the Grimms to the von Arnims is the subject of Reinhold Steig's masterly work *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen*. Dritter Band. *Achim von Arnim und Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*. Stuttgart und Berlin, 1904.

"When you are in Cassel look up the secretary of war, Grimm, who was with Savigny in Paris; he is a good-natured man and is collecting songs for us."¹

The reference to Paris takes us back to an important episode in Jacob's life. Savigny left Marburg in 1804 to undertake a literary journey to Paris. He had already collected for his proposed history of the Roman law a great mass of important materials, which he unfortunately lost in his travels. To repair this serious loss he invited Jacob to come to Paris and assist him in his work. Jacob accepted this invitation with delight and spent seven happy months in Paris making for Savigny excerpts from manuscripts and books at the library. He did not neglect his opportunity for self-improvement and visited the galleries and theaters. He found the comedies "flat" and the classical tragedy *langweilig*. For music and art he did not evince much taste. There are evidences that his interest in mediaeval German literature was not weakened by his legal studies and social distractions. In one of his earliest letters to Wilhelm (March 1, 1805) he says: "Here is something to put in our edition of the *Minnelieder*," and Wilhelm replies (March 24): "I have been thinking whether you could not look among the manuscripts in Paris for old German poetry, perhaps you might discover something unknown and remarkable."²

Even more important perhaps for the future studies of the brothers were the political events to which I have referred above. With only one of these events are we now concerned, and its effect on Jacob is indicated in a letter from Paris (July 12 or 13, 1805) to his aunt: "My inclinations, that is, the studies which I could embrace with pleasure and love are at variance with my connections, family, and other circumstances. My relatives bind me to my fatherland, without them I could not be happy abroad; on the other hand, there are in Hesse so few chances for a learned and exact study of jurisprudence (the new code has destroyed all my hopes). . . . " How could a pupil of Savigny who had been brought upon the

¹ See first volume of above-mentioned work: *Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano*, 1894, p. 185.

² For Jacob's first visit to Paris see "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 8, and especially the correspondence of Jacob and Wilhelm: *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm aus der Jugendzeit*, Weimar, 1881, pp. 5-70.

historical method endure the thought of accepting as the basis for his work the Code Napoléon, fresh from the hands of its makers!

In the letter just cited he confesses that he has no inclination for business, and greatly dislikes the external conditions of professorial life. He is determined, however, to remain in Hesse and to wish for nothing more than a position which would not consume his entire day, but would leave him time to continue his favorite studies, "for I confess," he says, "that without these I should be pretty unhappy." A position as assessor (legal adviser to a judge), or something of the kind was all he could think of. A lawyer he did not want to be on account of his indefinite labors.

Of equal interest is the determination expressed in a letter of about the same date never to be separated from his brother Wilhelm. He says with deep feeling: "Never, my dear Wilhelm, will we part, and if one of us were called to another place, the other must at once give warning. We have become so used to this companionship, that separation could grieve me to death."

In September Jacob returned to Cassel where his mother had removed from Steinau in order to be with her children. Efforts were made during the winter to obtain for Jacob a position of the kind referred to above, and about the beginning of 1806 he succeeded in getting an assistant secretaryship in the war department of the Electorate of Hesse at a salary of one hundred thalers a year. The work was arduous and dull, and the luckless secretary had to wear a stiff uniform and powder his pigtail. Even so, he says, he was contented and devoted all his leisure to the study of the literature and poetry of the Middle Ages, for which, as we have seen, his inclination had been fostered in Paris by the sight and use of certain manuscripts as well as by the purchase of rare books.¹

A year had scarcely passed when the war with France changed the aspect of things and turned Jacob's position into that of an officer of the commissariat for the whole state. His knowledge of French increased the burden of his duties, and he resigned his position as soon as possible. Then he tried to obtain a place as librarian in the public library of Cassel, for which position, he says, he felt himself competent on account of his familiarity with manuscripts

¹ "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 8.

and knowledge of literary history. He was confident that he could make great advances in this profession, whereas the study of the French law into which the German jurisprudence threatened to change was quite hateful to him. He failed to obtain the coveted position and was out of employment for about a year. His distress was increased by the death of "the best of mothers" in May, 1808, "the deepest sorrow which has overwhelmed me in all my life." Not one of the six children who stood by her deathbed was provided for. "Had she lived only a few months longer," says Jacob, "how she would have rejoiced at my improved situation."¹

The kingdom of Westphalia had been created and Joseph Bonaparte made its head with his capital at Cassel. There in Wilhelms-höhe (for a time dubbed "Napoleonshöhe") the royal private library was established, and Johannes von Müller, the famous Swiss historian, recommended to the king's secretary Jacob Grimm as librarian. Jacob remarks that there could not have been any other favored candidates or he would never have obtained such a position. No one thought of examining his qualifications, and his only instruction from the royal secretary to whom he owed his appointment was: "Vous ferez mettre en grands caractères sur la porte: Bibliothèque particulière du Roi." The salary was two thousand francs, increased in a few months to three thousand, "presumably because they were satisfied with me," and shortly afterward the king himself announced to Jacob that he had named him *auditeur* to the Council of State, with the additional pay of a thousand francs, so that from February 17, 1809, he enjoyed a salary of over a thousand thalers, "I who a year before hadn't drawn a penny." It must all have seemed to him like one of the fairy tales which he and his brother Wilhelm were collecting about this time.²

It is not my intention to write a biography of the brothers beyond the period of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, so I will content myself with saying that Jacob held his enviable position until the return of the Elector in 1813. His duties were light. He had to be in the library or Cabinet Chamber a few hours a day, and during this time he could quietly read and copy after he had entered the new books. The king seldom asked for books or excerpts, and of course no books

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

were loaned to others. All his leisure time, Jacob says, was devoted to the study of the old German language and poetry. As a councilor of state he had to wear an embroidered dress uniform and attend the meetings of the Council, but he soon noticed, he says, that it was not necessary that he should always appear when the king did not preside in person.¹

It was under conditions such as have been described above that the collection of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* was made between 1806 and 1812. There had been many collections of fairy tales made in Germany and foreign lands since Straparola's *Piacevoli Notti* (Venice, 1550), and Basile's *Pentamerone* (Naples, 1637); but the collection of the Grimms was the first made with a scientific aim. The fairy tale became fashionable in consequence of the popularity of Perrault's collection (Paris, 1697), and for many years was made the vehicle of moral and satirical teaching. Perrault was an incomparable editor and in an artificial age struck the true note of popular simplicity. His imitators, however, created a literary genre, and until the advent of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, the fairy tale was merely a theme for literary development or a medium for moral instruction. The rôle which the fairy tale played in the Romantic school of Germany is too well known to dwell on here, and has been well described in Richard Benz's *Märchen-Dichtung der Romantiker*, Gotha, 1908.

The Grimms approached the subject in an entirely different way. For them the *Märchen* was a part of the national literature of their country and belonged to the class of *Naturpoesie*. A year before the first volume was published, Wilhelm said in the preface of his translations of the *Alddänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen*, Heidelberg, 1811: "These *Märchen* deserve closer attention than has been bestowed upon them hitherto, not only on account of their poetry, which has a peculiar charm and imparts to everyone who has heard them in his childhood a precious lesson and a happy memory throughout his life, but also because they belong to our national poetry, since it can be proved that they have lived for centuries among the people."² In the preface to the first edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Wilhelm further says: "Their existence alone is

¹ J. Grimm, *loc. cit.*, p. 11.

² This preface is reprinted in W. Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 176-203. The passage in question is p. 190.

enough to defend them. What has delighted, moved, and taught in such a manifold and ever fresh manner, has within it its necessary being, and certainly has sprung from that eternal source which bedews all life, and if it is only a single drop held in a little leaf, that drop sparkles in the first rays of the dawn."¹

Shortly after the first volume was published, Jacob wrote to Arnim (January 28, 1813): "I did not write the story-book for children, although I rejoice that it is welcome to them; but I would not have worked over it with pleasure if I had not believed that it might appear and be important for poetry, mythology, and history to the most serious and elderly people as well as to myself."² Many years later Jacob, in his touching eulogy of his brother, said: "If we shall receive for all our trouble and care any thanks which may survive us, it will be for the collection of stories, which affords not only an enduring nourishment for youth and every impartial reader, but also, as searching investigation has shown, contains in itself a great treasure of antiquity indispensable for research."³ The theories of the brothers as to the origin and diffusion of popular tales, which have given such an impulse to their collection and study, were not formulated until the publication of the second edition in 1819, and appeared in an introduction by Wilhelm, "Ueber das Wesen der Märchen." I shall return to this subject later.

In Albert Duncker's essay on "The Brothers Grimm" (Cassel, 1884) is a woodcut of the house in Cassel occupied by them from 1805 to 1809, which now bears an inscription stating that in this house the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm wrote their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.⁴ The significance of the word "wrote" we shall consider later; meanwhile we are concerned with the stories of oral origin. These were collected by the brothers themselves almost exclusively in Hesse and in the Main and Kinzig regions in the county of Hanau; or were communicated to them by their friends, notably Arnim and

¹ This preface is reprinted in W. Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 320-28. The passage in question is p. 321. It is in Panzer's reprint, I, 3.

² Steig, III, 271.

³ J. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 177.

⁴ There is a better picture of the house in Ludwig Grimm's *Erinnerungen*, p. 128. See also what Steig says in his article "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Märchen und Sagen der Brüder Grimm," in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CVII, 276.

the Haxthausen family. A considerable number of stories in the second volume were related by a peasant woman, Frau Viehmännin, whose portrait, engraved by Ludwig Grimm, appears for the first time in the second volume of the second edition (1819), and is reproduced in *Die Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm in ihrer Urgestalt herausgegeben von Friedrich Panzer*, Munich, 1913, 2 vols.

In the preface to a somewhat later work, *Deutsche Sagen* (1816-18), the brothers speak of the joy of collecting popular traditions in these beautiful and enthusiastic words: "The business of collecting, when one sets about it in earnest, soon repays the trouble, and approaches the nearest to that innocent pleasure of childhood when it suddenly surprises in moss and bushes a little bird brooding on its nest. Here also with traditions there is a gentle lifting of the leaves and a careful bending aside of the branches, in order not to disturb the folk, and to be able to catch a stolen glance into the strange realm of nature which modestly nestles in itself and smells of leaves, meadow-grass and newly fallen rain."¹

The brothers felt that it was high time to collect these precious remains of popular tradition and "to preserve them from vanishing like the dew in the hot sun, or like fire quenched in the well, to be forever silent in the tumult of our times."² A few intimate details of the collection of the *Märchen* have been preserved in notes made by Wilhelm in his copy of the first volume. Among the names of those who related the tales occurs that of Dorothea Wild, a girl of sixteen in 1811, who later became the wife of Wilhelm. Her father was a well-to-do apothecary, who lived with his large family near the Grimms, and owned gardens and landed property in the vicinity of Cassel. In the notes referred to above occur such allusions as the following: "Dortchen, September 29, 1811, in the garden [to story No. 34, 'Hansens Trine,' the name of which was in the second and subsequent editions changed to 'Die kluge Else'], Dortchen, October 1, 1811 [to story No. 30, 'Tischen deck dich'], Dortchen, October 13, 1811, in the garden [to No. 24, 'Frau Hölle']." On January 19, 1812, "Die sechs Schwäne," "Die singende Knochen," and "Der liebste Roland" were related "around the stove in the summer-house."

¹ *Deutsche Sagen*, Berlin, 1816, p. xxv.

² Cited by Scherer in his *Jacob Grimm*, 2d ed., Berlin, 1885, p. 103.

Dorothea's mother and sister Gretchen furnished several stories, and some of the best in the first volume came from "Alte Marie," a servant of the Wilds' from whom Dorothea and Gretchen probably heard the *Märchen* they related to Wilhelm.¹

Two other families, the Hassenpflugs and Haxthausens, were connected by ties of intimate friendship and marriage with the Grimms. Ludwig Hassenpflug, afterward Lotte Grimm's husband, was the minister of the last elector of Hesse, and his two sisters, Amalie and Jeannette, were friends of Dorothea Wild and Lotte Grimm.² Many of the stories in the first volume are due to Jeannette, whose mother, of French origin, furnished the stories of "Bluebeard" and "Puss in Boots," which were omitted after the first edition as being derived from foreign sources. The friendship with the Haxthausens began in 1809, when Wilhelm made the acquaintance at Halle of the Westphalian Freiherr Werner von Haxthausen. The home of the large family was at Bökendorf, where Wilhelm and Jacob were frequent visitors, and the friendship lasted, as was usually the case, for life. The correspondence of the brothers with the family begins in January, 1812, with a letter from Wilhelm to Fräulein L. von Haxthausen accompanying a copy of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* published a few days before.³ In this letter Wilhelm asks for contributions for the future volume, new stories or additions, and corrections of the old ones. "I have no doubt," the writer says, "that you can still communicate much to us, and from the peculiarly fine manner in which popular poetry still lives among you, I am sure that it will be collected just as is most pleasing to me, namely, true and exact, with all the peculiarities even of the dialect, without additions and so-called embellishments." In the following year (March 12, 1813) the brothers wrote to thank August von Haxthausen for an abundant inclosure of stories and

¹ The notes made by Wilhelm in his copy are cited in Herman Grimm's essay "Die Brüder Grimm," printed as an introduction to the *Jubiläums-Auflage* of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* prepared by R. Steig, 32d ed., Stuttgart und Berlin, 1912, pp. xxiii ff. These notes and others are used by Bolte and Polivka in their monumental *Anmerkungen*, 1913-15.

² For the Hassenpflugs see Ludwig Grimm's *Erinnerungen*, p. 573.

³ The correspondence in question is found in *Freundesbriefe von Wilhelm und Jacob Grimm*, Heilbronn, 1878. An account of the friendship of the brothers with the Haxthausen family is given by the editor, Dr. A. Reifferscheid, pp. 193-98.

songs. Wilhelm says: "I have no criticism to make of the way in which you have taken them down; it is true and simple, as I desire, and if you continue, as you have promised me to do, you will have no small share in the continuation of the book." Some forty-eight stories are due wholly or in part to the members of the Haxthausen family, who also contributed seven of the ten "*Kinderlegenden*." But we have not space to mention all those who furnished stories of oral origin, and must hasten to the circumstances of the publication of the first volume. Before doing so, however, we must allude to the pathetic history of one of the stories, No. 21 in the edition of 1815, "*Die Krähen*," later replaced in 1819 by No. 107, "*Die beiden Wanderer*." The story was told one night in the spring of 1813 to August von Haxthausen while on duty at one of the outposts near the Danish frontier by a comrade of his in a regiment of hussars who the next day was shot dead behind his friend.¹

In the dedication of the third edition (1837) to Frau Bettina von Arnim, Wilhelm Grimm says: "Dear Bettine, this book returns to you again like a dove which seeks its home and suns itself there in peace. Twenty-five years ago Arnim laid it among the Christmas presents, bound in green with gilt edges. We were delighted that he prized it so highly, and he could have given us no finer thanks. He it was who while spending a few weeks with us in Cassel at that time urged us to publish the book. Of all our collections these stories pleased him the most. He thought we should not keep them back too long, since in the effort for completeness the matter might remain in abeyance. 'It is all so neatly and clearly written,' he added with good-natured irony, for with the bold, not very legible, characters of his own handwriting, he did not seem to attach much importance to legibility. Striding up and down the room he read separate sheets, while a tame canary bird balanced itself with graceful movements of its wings upon his head and seemed to take its ease in the thick locks of his hair. That noble head has rested for years in the grave, but even today the memory of it moves me as if I had seen him only yesterday for the last time, as if he still stood upon the green earth like a tree waving its head in the morning sun."²

¹ See *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, p. 223, and Steig, III, 314.

² The dedication of the editions of 1837, 1840, and 1843, signed "Wilhelm Grimm," may be found in his *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 317-19.

Arnim made arrangements with Reimer of Berlin to publish the book, with a certain honorarium when a fixed number of copies were sold. The manuscript went to Berlin toward the end of September, 1812, so that the *Märchen* would be ready for Christmas. The first copy was sent by the publishers at the Grimms' request to Arnim. By an annoying mistake (let students of *Don Quixote* take notice) the last story of the volume, No. 68, "Der Fuchs und die Gänse," was omitted, although it was commented upon in the appendix. Arnim wrote to the brothers: "Reimer does not know what has become of it. I suspect his children have torn it up as they recently did a letter which he had received for me."¹ The intended illustration was also missing and was not sent to the publisher to be issued with the omitted story as the brothers proposed. This volume, as well as the second, is excessively rare and the student will have to content himself with Friedrich Panzer's excellent reproduction. I have seen in the Royal Library at Munich the copy of the original used by Panzer. It is oblong in form, about six inches long by three and a half wide, with the following pagination: Title and Preface, i-xxviii, Stories, 1-388, Appendix, i-lx, with the later Supplement, lxx, and an unnumbered page of Errata.

The stories were dedicated "An die Frau Elisabeth von Arnim für den kleinen Johannes Freimund," and Arnim wrote to Jacob, December 24: "I have just received from Reimer your story-book for my wife. It is handsomely bound and is to be given to her on Christmas Eve. I have hidden it at Savigny's and have been able to turn over a few pages only on account of the gilt edges. I thank you heartily in the name of my child. It is a very excellent book and will have a long sale. One thing I would have advised you had I known the arrangement of the book to print preface and appendix in a periodical, now in your own, and to have your brother engrave some illustrations for the stories. The lack of cuts and the erudition surrounding the book exclude it from the class of children's books and hinder its wider circulation. I should not be surprised if a Leipzig speculator should make a choice of the most entertaining stories and print it with illustrations."²

¹ Steig, III, 264, see also p. 253.

² *Ibid.*, p. 251.

The brothers answered Arnim at once, expressing their pleasure at his appreciation of the book, "on which they had reckoned, as it contained profound and admirable things." They also warmly defended the preface and notes. In regard to the former, they say that those who don't want to read it can skip it, and the price of the book was only slightly increased by it. On the other hand, the appendix defends the book against many attacks and inspires a sort of respect for its contents. A considerable class of readers, the editors are convinced, will purchase the book on account of the appendix. It also contains occasionally fine variants which might have been included among the *Märchen* in the text, and from these variants those who wish to collect contributions for the continuation of the work can learn what importance the editors attach even to minute details. This could not otherwise have been made so clear. Finally, in regard to the notes, Herder employed notes to his *Volkslieder* without harm, and the Englishmen, Percy and Scott, used many more and placed them directly under the text. The omission of illustrations is explained on the ground that the editors at first thought they would impair the simple and unpretentious nature of the work.¹

Anim later criticized a number of things in the language and contents of the tales. A mother, he said, had complained to him that she could not put the book into her children's hands on account of the story "Wie Kinder Schlachtens mit einander gespielt haben." Jacob replied, in regard to the last point, that the story in question belonged to the class of tragic events which no foresight or calculation can guard against, for evil seeks and finds ways of which no soul had ever thought, and good goes blindly past those which lie open to others. "I believe," he says, "that all children can read in God's name the whole of the book and be left to themselves while doing so."² The story, for all Jacob's defense, was omitted in the second edition (1819). The question, however, of the changes which subsequent editions underwent will be more properly considered with the completed work.

The success of the first volume was immediate and great. Three years later Wilhelm wrote to Jacob (then in Vienna): "Ferdinand

¹ Steig, III, 253.

² *Ibid.*, p. 270, see also p. 262.

writes to me that the nine hundred copies of the first volume of the *Märchen* were soon sold out, and another edition is needed,"¹ and a few months later he says in another letter to Jacob (then in Paris): "The *Märchen* have made us known to everybody."² The first volume had contained all the material at that time in the hands of the brothers, but the task of collection for the second volume was an easier one and proceeded more rapidly. The work was largely in Wilhelm's hands, as political and military events engrossed Jacob for a time. In 1813 the Elector returned to Cassel and Jacob received an appointment as secretary of legation and accompanied the Hessian ambassador to the headquarters of the allied army.³ The next year he was in Paris, and from October, 1814, to June, 1815, in attendance on the Congress of Vienna, a period, he says, "not unprofitable for my private studies and which made me acquainted with a number of scholars."⁴ Meanwhile Wilhelm obtained (February 15, 1814) from the Elector the position of secretary in the library at Cassel.

Before Jacob left Cassel, however, he was able to write to F. D. Gräter (January 9, 1813): "With the collecting and contributions it is going so prosperously that contrary to our expectations we think of issuing within a year a second volume as weighty as the first."⁵ In May, 1814, Wilhelm wrote to Ludwine von Haxthausen: "You can't believe what delight I am taking in the collection of the second volume on account of the sympathy and aid we have received. The first volume we two [Jacob and he] alone collected quite solitary and hence very slowly in six years; now things are going much better and faster."⁶ Besides the contributions of friends the brothers were fortunate enough to discover a peasant woman from Zwehrn near Cassel, Frau Viehmännin, whose portrait, engraved by Ludwig Grimm, first appeared as a frontispiece to the second volume of the second edition (1819) and has since been repeated in the five following

¹ *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, p. 452.

² *Ibid.*, p. 475.

³ J. Grimm, "Selbstbiographie," *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵ *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob Grimm und F. D. Gräter aus den Jahren 1810-1813*, herausgegeben von H. Fischer, Heilbronn, 1877, p. 58.

⁶ *Freundesbriefe*, pp. 23 ff.

editions. Wilhelm says in the preface to the second volume: "This woman, still vigorous and not much over fifty years old, is named Viehmännin, possesses a strong and pleasing countenance, a clear, sharp glance, and was probably handsome in her youth. She preserves these old traditions firm in her memory, a gift, as she says, not granted to everyone and which many cannot retain. Withal she relates her stories deliberately, surely, and in an unusually lively manner, taking pleasure herself in them; at first quite freely, then, if one desires, more slowly, so that after some practice one can take down her words. In this way much has been literally preserved, the truth of which is unmistakable. Those who believe as a rule in the easy falsification of tradition, carelessness of preservation, and hence in the impossibility of long duration, should hear how exact she always is in relating the same story, and how anxious she is about her accuracy. She never makes any substantial alteration while repeating anything, and as soon as she perceives it corrects a mistake herself at once in the midst of her words."¹

It was in stirring times, indeed, that the preparation of the second volume went on. Jacob was with his ambassador at the headquarters of the allied army, Reimer the publisher was also in military service. Wilhelm wrote to Jacob, January 18, 1814, that he intended soon to ask Reimer if he could have the second volume ready by the following Christmas, providing that he could have the manuscript in June. Jacob, who was then at Vesoul in France, in a letter of March 10, expressed his pleasure at Wilhelm's labors for the second volume. Some days later Wilhelm writes that he has heard from Reimer who is very favorably inclined to undertake the second volume, which could appear as early as Michaelmas (September 29).

Jacob returned to Cassel at the beginning of July, and remained there until he departed for the Congress of Vienna in the middle of September. In August he complained to his old school-fellow Paul Wigand (Panzer, I, xxii) of the mass of work in which he was involved, for the *Edda*, *Der arme Heinrich*, and a second volume of the *Kinder-Märchen* must be prepared for the press. Wilhelm kept urging his friends to send in their contributions, as the last manuscript must be in the hands of the printer by September 20 (in a letter to Wigand,

¹ J. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 328-32.

by October 12). The preface by Wilhelm is dated September 30, but it was not until October 13 that he announced to Jacob that the *Märchen* were finished, appendix and supplement. The printing began in October, and was finished December 19, and we can follow the progress of the work in the frequent and lengthy letters of Wilhelm to Jacob, who did not allow the Vienna Congress to interfere with his private studies and scholarly interests. Wilhelm received twenty copies of the *Märchen* on January 30; but Jacob did not see the completed work until January 18, and was not altogether pleased with paper and print, which were not as good as in the first volume, and the price was the same (1 Thaler and 18 Groschen), although the volume was thinner. Jacob also thought that the second volume lacked novelty as compared with the first, and did not like it that Wilhelm had not used all the material he had sent him for the notes.¹

Before entering on the history of the subsequent editions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* until the final constitution of the text in 1857, it may be well to examine briefly some of the more general questions connected with the work, and first as to the share of the two brothers in its inception, collection, and annotation. We have seen how slowly the material for the first volume was gathered by the brothers in common. Six years were spent in the task, while only two were needed for the second volume, during a large part of which time Jacob was absent from Cassel. It is true he followed the enterprise with the keenest interest and furnished materials for the volume. In all the subsequent editions, as we shall soon see, Wilhelm played the more important part, and it was not surprising that the impression later prevailed that he was largely responsible for the inception and prosecution of the undertaking. Scherer in his *Life of Jacob Grimm* (2d ed., 1885) says: "The share of the two brothers in the first form of the *Märchen* was equally great. On their walks together they probably collected them, sometimes one, sometimes the other, wrote them down, and each gave his opinion and advice in regard to the wording. From the second edition on, that is, since 1819, the book seems to have been left to the exclusive care of Wilhelm. The many additions (some fifty in number), improvements,

¹ *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, p. 414.

and radical changes which have since then been made in the collection and which have gradually made it what it is at present, as well as the largest part of the materials and the entire composition of the essays, seem to be due to Wilhelm, so that, in fact, greater merit for the *Märchen* must be ascribed to him than to his brother Jacob."

A few weeks after Wilhelm's death Jacob wrote (February 19, 1860) to Professor Pfeiffer: "I am more concerned with not allowing another opinion that crops up now and then to thrive, namely, that the *Märchen* originated chiefly with my brother and not with me. For the origin of the work and the early editions I have done precisely as much as he, perhaps still more (it had long been my plan to publish special investigations into the nature of *Märchen*) and I recognized at once the value of these traditions for mythology, and have laid great stress upon the fidelity of the collection and rejected embellishments. For the later editions, because I was absorbed in grammatical work, I allowed Wilhelm to edit and write the introductions, without relaxing my care for the collection and explanation of the *Märchen*. I believe that Wilhelm once in some polemic expressed himself in regard to his share in the work in a way which caused the misunderstanding. Would to God he were yet alive. I would gladly yield to him all my rights!"¹

We have already quoted from the noble eulogy which Jacob pronounced on Wilhelm in the Royal Academy at Berlin in July, 1860. As printed in the *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 177, the conclusion is lacking; Jacob apparently was not satisfied with what he had originally written and intended to change it. At any rate the last leaf of the manuscript is missing. It must have dealt with the *Märchen*, for the passage we have cited earlier in this article stands at the end of the eulogy. Scherer in his *Life of Jacob Grimm* quotes the following conclusion which he may have heard from someone present: "As often as I take the story-book in my hands, it moves and touches me, for on every page his image stands before me and I recognize the traces of his prevailing influence."

The second question of even greater interest concerns the method of editing employed by the brothers. In view of their early recognition of the scientific value of the *Märchen* it seems strange to us that

¹ *Germania*, XI, 249.

there should be any doubt about the method. Since the days of the Grimms, and thanks to the impetus which their collection gave, popular tales have been collected in every quarter of the globe. Sometimes the stories have been taken down in shorthand (as by V. Imbriani in his *Novellaja Fiorentina*, Leghorn, 1877), in order to secure greater literalness. In all cases at present the collector endeavors to give the exact words of the narrator. The result is that many of the modern collections are merely materials for scientific study and are devoid of all literary interest. What the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* would have been like if its collectors had pursued this method we can have some idea of by a comparison of the first volume of the first edition with the second, and of both with the subsequent editions. For all their scientific interest the brothers, especially Wilhelm, could not escape the influence of their literary milieu. The result is that the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* is a great literary work which has had a profound influence upon the language and literary forms of Germany. This result was not gained at once, but was the consequence of nearly fifty years of patient revision.

The impression made by the first volume on some of the collectors' friends was not favorable. Brentano, who had really given the impetus to the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* by his *Wunderhorn* and personal influence, wrote early in 1813 to Arnim: "I bought Grimms' *Märchen* a few days ago. The preface contains fine words, and many *Märchen* have been got together; but the whole gives me less pleasure than I expected. I find the narration on account of its fidelity exceedingly negligent and slovenly, and in many places for that reason very tiresome, even where the stories are brief. Why are the tales not as well told as those of Runge? They are perfect of their kind. If one wants to exhibit a child's dress, it can be done with all honesty without showing one that has all the buttons off, is covered with mud and has the shirt sticking out of the breeches. If the pious editors wanted to satisfy themselves they should have preceded every story by a psychological biography of the child or of the old woman who at all events related it badly. I could, for example, relate full twenty of the best of these tales as I recently heard them in Bohemia faithfully and much better, or badly in quite a different way. The learned notes are disconnected, and too much

is assumed in the reader, which he neither knows nor can learn from these notes. A dissertation on the *Märchen* in general, a physiology of the *Märchen*, would have been much more useful, if there had to be any learning. As it now is, the erudition has the appearance of being the *omnium-gatherum* printed from the papers of deceased scholars. I have clearly felt from this book how entirely right we have proceeded with the *Wunderhorn*, and that from us could have been expected at most greater talent. For such fidelity as is shown here in the *Kindermärchen* is very paltry, and Basile who is so much praised is anything but exact in his *Pentamerone* or *Cunto delli Cunti*, which is held up as a model, as he not only places his *Märchen* in a narrative framework, but has larded them with all sorts of elegant reminiscences and even verses from Petrarch."¹

In the preface to the first volume the aim of the editors is stated as follows: "We have endeavored to present these *Märchen* as exactly as possible. In many the narrative is interrupted by rhymes and verses which often are clearly alliterative but are never sung during the narration, and these are precisely the oldest and best. No detail is added or embellished and changed, for we should have shrunk from augmenting traditions so rich in themselves with corresponding analogies or reminiscences; they are not capable of invention. In this sense there is not yet any collection in Germany. They have been almost always used as material from which to draw more extensive stories, which arbitrarily enlarged and altered, whatever their value might otherwise have been, snatch their property from the hands of the children and give them nothing in exchange. Even those who gave them any thought could not avoid mingling with their stories affectations borrowed from contemporary poetry. Almost always there has been a lack of industry in collecting, and a few stories accidentally written down were at once made known."² In conclusion the editors express their opinion that the stories would have gained if they could have been told in a definite dialect.

We have seen that Arnim made various criticisms, some of which were taken into account in the second edition. These criticisms concerned the character of the individual stories, the language

¹ *Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano*, p. 309.

² W. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 327.

employed by the editors, the method of narration, etc. The brothers answered these criticisms in detail, and Wilhelm makes the following interesting statement of their views: "If we had made any changes or additions we should have been answerable for them. When you say that there is a certain development and individual influence which cannot be avoided, and cite the confessedly weakest story in the volume, I reply that I have never wished to deny it. It is natural when we ourselves have felt anything that this feeling should be perceptible and have its own expression. For this reason I have made no difficulty about expressions, arrangements of similes, etc., and have spoken as I like at the moment—still the chief fault in the book is the clumsiness in poetical composition, which you perhaps and whoever especially loves the subject overlook the easiest. But it is somewhat different with intentional combinations, alterations, etc."¹

When the second volume appeared in 1815, Arnim wrote to Wilhelm: "You have been fortunate in your collecting, often you have been very fortunate in lending a helping hand (of course you do not tell Jacob this); you should have done this oftener and many stories would have had a more satisfactory conclusion. I mean, in the way that Runge treated his two tales, you should have had the Paderborn stories in particular related orally until all in them that belongs to our time was apparent. You may say that children do not need that, but *Märchen* were not invented for children alone, but as an intermediate diversion (*Zwischenspiel*) between children and adults, so that both alike can get much out of them, and both apparently be equally fascinated while each is taking delight in something different."²

The final statement of their method is to be found in the preface to the second edition, dated Cassel, July 3, 1819. This is not reprinted in the *Kleinere Schriften* and would therefore seem to be the joint work of the brothers. It has not been reprinted in the Reclam edition, but is to be found in the various editions of the *Grosse Ausgabe*. "Our first aim in collecting these stories has been exactness and truth. We have added nothing of our own, have embellished no incident or feature of the story, but have given its substance just as we ourselves received it. It will, of course, be understood that the mode of telling and carrying out of particular

¹ Steig, III, 267.

² *Ibid.*, p. 419.

details is principally due to us, but we have striven to retain everything that we knew to be characteristic, that in this respect also we might leave in the collection the many-sidedness of nature. For the rest, every one engaged on a work of this kind will know that this cannot be looked on as a careless or indifferent method of collection, but that, on the contrary, a care and skill which can only be gained by time are required to distinguish the version of the story which is simpler, purer, and yet more complete in itself from the falsified one. Whenever we found that varying stories completed each other, and that no contradictory parts had to be cut out before they could be joined together, we have given them as one, but when they differed, we have given the preference to that which was the better, and have kept the other for the notes. . . . We have gladly retained a definite dialect. If this could have happened everywhere the narrative would undoubtedly have gained by it. It is the case where the cultivation, refinement, and art which the language has attained result in loss, and one feels that a refined literary language, no matter how capable it may be in everything else, has grown clearer and more lucid, but has also lost in flavor and no longer has such a firm grasp of the pith of the matter."

It is unfortunately impossible to follow the changes made by the brothers in their material of oral origin. In an interesting article Dr. Johannes Bolte says, referring to Hamann's and Tonnelat's works: "More profitable results might be expected from a comparison of the original versions from the lips of the Hessian, Westphalian, Austrian, and other authorities of the Brothers Grimm, if such were still before us. Unfortunately, the papers left by the brothers and preserved in the Grimm Cabinet in the Royal Library in Berlin do not allow us to hope for much in this direction. Among the seven packages of papers relating to *Märchen* the copy for the first volume (1812) is missing with the exception of a few extracts from printed works and some variants utilized later in the notes; the stories of Frau Viehmännin of Zwehrn near Cassel are also lacking. On the other hand the contributions of the Haxthausen family are carefully preserved so far as they are written in the Westphalian dialect."¹ The papers also contain the Low German stories

¹ *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde in Berlin*, 1915, pp. 31-51.

in the second volume, and some other versions and variants. It does not appear, from what Dr. Bolte says, that these papers throw much light upon the question of the brothers' method of editing, and we are practically restricted to the changes, chiefly stylistic, made in the literary sources and other versions in the various editions from 1812 to 1857. It is not the purpose of this article to dwell upon this question, especially as the student will find all he needs in the works of Hamann and Tonnelat cited above, and the general reader will find a pleasant account of the more important changes in Panzer's introduction to his reprint of the first edition. Our purpose is to give merely a history of the outward form of the work until it assumed its definite shape in the edition of 1857.

We have seen that Jacob was at the Congress of Vienna when the second volume of the *Märchen* was published, but even before that he was already thinking of a third volume and wrote to Wilhelm on November 23, 1814: "I am setting everyone to work on contributions for the third volume, for it will surely come to that."¹ On December 10, he writes: "I have a fine story of the 'Krautesel,' which we entirely lacked, and several persons promise me material for the third volume. Many stories and variants have been told me."² In the same letter in which he acknowledged the receipt of the second volume (January 18, 1815) he says: "I am rejoicing at the idea of the third volume, for which I have already three or four big, good, new *Märchen*, besides many fragments."³ Wilhelm, too, was making ready for the proposed third volume and writes to Arnim on January 26, 1815: "I have already laid the foundation for the collection of a third volume, for which Jacob, in Vienna, has been promised contributions from German-Hungary and Moravia."⁴

The proposed third volume of *Märchen* was never completed. Jacob became interested in his grammatical studies as early as 1816, and from this time on left the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* largely in Wilhelm's hands. The latter apparently found enough to do with the revision of the two volumes without undertaking a third. Besides this, the preparation of the notes and introductory matter for the second edition (1819, notes 1822) involved much labor.

¹ *Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, p. 390.

² *Ibid.*, p. 393.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

⁴ Steig, III, 315.

Another project announced in the preface of the first volume (1812) was not carried out. In the preface by Wilhelm, just mentioned, a brief review of the literature of fairy tales in other lands is given and especial mention is made of Straparola and Basile. The *Pentamerone* of the latter is characterized as "a work as well known and popular in Italy as it is rare and unknown in Germany, written in the Neapolitan dialect, and in every respect a capital book. The contents are almost without gaps and spurious additions, the style overflowing with good expressions and sayings . . . we propose to translate it in the second volume of the present collection in which everything else that has been preserved in foreign sources will find a place." At the end of the preface of the second volume, likewise by Wilhelm, he says: "The translation of the *Pentamerone* promised at the beginning for this second volume, as well as the compilation of those contained in the *Gesta Romanorum*, necessarily give place to the indigenous tales."

The promise of a translation of the *Pentamerone* was partly redeemed in the third volume devoted entirely to the *Notes* which appeared in 1822 and which will be described more fully later on. In this volume pp. 276-369 are devoted to a full and careful analysis of the *Pentamerone*, and on pp. 370-71 is given a survey of the forty-eight Italian stories which correspond more or less to the German ones. The *Piacevoli Notti* of Straparola and the *Gesta Romanorum* are treated more briefly. In the second and last edition of the *Notes* (1856) reference is made to the German translation of the *Pentamerone* by Felix Liebrecht (Breslau, 1846, 2 vols.) and the English version by John Edward Taylor (London, 1848), which render unnecessary any abstract in the present volume and therefore only the survey of corresponding stories is given.

Before proceeding to the external history of the first seven editions it will be best to dispose now as briefly as possible of the question of the notes and prefatory matter. We have already seen that Arnim thought it would have been better to print the preface and appendix containing the notes in a learned periodical, and that Brentano criticized the learned notes as disconnected. The brothers warmly defended the preface and notes and thought that the latter would inspire respect for the contents of the book. Arnim and

Brentano, of course, judged the work solely from the literary standpoint, whereas the editors, especially Jacob, wished to lay as much emphasis as possible upon the scientific worth of the work. When we read at this day the preface and notes of the first edition, we are amazed at the enormous development of studies which owe their inception to these two volumes. The editors justly claimed that theirs was the first collection in Germany which represented correctly the oral traditions of the people. They might have claimed more, for the only foreign works which might be associated with the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* were the *Piacevoli Notti* of Straparola, the *Pentamerone* of Basile and the *Contes* of Perrault. Only the last named could justly be regarded as popular in the strict sense; the other two are precious repertoires of popular incidents, often disfigured by the literary use to which they were put. Even the *Gesta Romanorum*, on which the brothers laid great stress, contains surprisingly few *Märchen* or *Märchen*-incidents. It is a great collection of moralized *exempla*, probably intended largely for the use of preachers, and it is curious how seldom in this or in the numerous similar collections fairy tales are mentioned.

In the independent volume of *Notes* (1822) the literature of the subject fills pp. 271-441, reprinted in the edition of 1856, pp. 285-351, with the omission of the extensive analysis of the *Pentamerone*. In the preface to the volume the editors say: "The section which shows the literature may hope for the approval even of those who do not have time for a closer consideration of the subject. If previous works could have been used it would perhaps have been fuller, but we have been obliged to read and hunt up everything ourselves." A glance at this literary survey will show how inconsiderable was the material at the disposal of the annotators even seven years after the appearance of the second volume of the first edition. For example, here is all that is said of Spain: "There can be no doubt in regard to the existence of *Märchen*. A passage of Cervantes, cited among the authorities, speaks of them, and a fragment of a story about giants in Calderon is mentioned in the notes to No. 112. A passage in the comedy *It is worse than it was* (translated by Malsburg, 1, 335) seems based upon a popular tale." This is all that was known of Spanish (and Portuguese, for the matter of that) popular tales in 1822.

There were no Russian or modern Greek collections, and only a few Servian, Bohemian, Polish, and Hungarian stories are mentioned.

To return now to the prefaces and notes of the first edition from which we have already quoted several passages, Wilhelm compares the collection of the *Märchen* to gleanings the scattered ears of corn, which, in some sheltered spot, have survived the storm or blight that has laid waste the field of grain. More has survived than the collectors imagined, although it was high time to gather them for they were rapidly disappearing. Many situations in the stories are so simple that they might well have been found in life, such as children abandoned by parents on account of poverty, harsh treatment by stepmothers, etc. As in mythology all nature is animated, the sun, moon, and stars are accessible and bestow their gifts; plants and stones speak. The stories easily supply moral teaching, but that is not their purpose, nor were they invented for it, "but it grows out of them like good fruit from a sound blossom without the aid of man." In their outer nature these stories resemble all popular and legendary lore, never stationary, changing in every locality, almost in every mouth, yet preserving the same substance. They differ from local popular legends which are excluded from the present collection. Sometimes various forms of the same story are given on account of their interesting and peculiar variations. It is certain that the *Märchen* in the course of time is constantly produced anew. Some are shown to be at least three hundred years old, although there is no doubt that they are really much older.

Because this poetry lies so close to the earliest and simplest life, we can see the reason for its universal diffusion, for there are no people entirely without it. The negroes in West Africa amuse their children with stories; Strabo shows that the Greeks were fond of them. This explains the extensive diffusion of the German stories. They equal in this respect not only the heroic legends of Siegfried the dragon-slayer, but they surpass them, for we find them, exactly the same, all over Europe, so that in them is revealed the relationship of the noblest nations. Denmark, England, Norway, and Sweden are rich in popular traditions. The southern lands are poorer. We know nothing of those of Spain, although a passage in Cervantes leaves no doubt of their existence. France has certainly

more than those published by Perrault. Richer than all others are the older Italian collections of Straparola and Basile. Then follows the passage in regard to the method pursued by the brothers in their collecting, which has been quoted above.

The preface to the second volume mentions the greater rapidity with which the materials for this volume were collected, and describes at length the peasant woman from Zwehrn near Cassel, Frau Viehmännin, from whom a considerable number of *Märchen* were obtained. Then follow some remarks on the relation of the *Märchen* to the German epic poetry. The editors say: "The inner intrinsic value of these *Märchen* is indeed to be estimated highly, for they throw on our primitive epic poetry a new light and such as could not otherwise have been effected. 'Dornröschen,' who has fallen asleep after being pricked by the spindle, is Brunhilde thrown into a sleep by the thorn; 'Schneewitchen' slumbers with the color of life in her cheeks, like Snäfridr, the fairest of all women, by whose coffin Haraldr with the beautiful hair sits three years, like the faithful dwarfs, watching and guarding the maiden living in death. The apple-core in her mouth is a sleeping-charm (*Schlafkunz*) or sleep-apple. The legend of the golden feather dropped by the bird for which the king has search made throughout the world, is nothing but the legend of King Mark in Tristan, to whom the bird brings the golden hair of the princess, for whom the king is now filled with desire. We can better understand how Loki hangs fast on the gigantic eagle by the story of the 'Golden Goose,' to which maids and men who touch it stick fast; and who does not recognize the story of Sigurd in the *Märchen* of the wicked goldsmith, the talking bird, and the eaten heart? . . . Nothing is more convincing and at the same time surer than that which again flows together from two sources which, early separated from each other, have followed their own channels; in these folk-tales lie pure old German myths, which were held to be lost, and we are convinced that if search will now be made in all parts of our country despised treasures will be transformed into incredible ones, which will help to found the science of the origin of our poetry. It is precisely so with the many dialects of our language, in which the larger part of the words and peculiarities which have long been considered extinct still live on ignored."

The purpose of the editors is then explained to be not only to do a service to poetry, but to make their collection a real educational work, and they strenuously defend the book against the objections made to it on the ground of containing stories improper for children to hear. The editors say in conclusion: "Moreover, we know of no sound and vigorous book which has edified the people, if we place the Bible first, in which such scruples do not arise in incomparably greater measure; the proper use finds nothing evil in them, but only as a fine expression says, a testimony of our hearts. Children can point at the stars without fear, while others, according to the belief of the people, offend the angels by so doing.

"Variants as well as all kinds of notes have again been put in the appendix. Those who are indifferent to these things can skip them easier than the editors could have omitted them; they belong to the book so far as it is a contribution to the history of the German popular poetry. These variants seem more remarkable to the editors than to those who see in them merely changes or distortions of an original which once really existed, whereas, on the contrary, they may be attempts to attain in a manifold way an inexhaustible ideal which is present only in the imagination. Repetition of individual sentences, phrases, and introductions are to be regarded as epic lines, which recur as soon as the tone is struck in their key, and are not to be understood in any other sense. Everything that has been collected from oral tradition is both as to its origin and development (with the single exception, perhaps, of 'Puss in Boots') purely German and not borrowed, and this can easily be proved from external evidence if it is questioned in individual cases. Arguments which are adduced for the borrowing from Italian, French, or oriental books which are unread by the people, especially in the country, are precisely like those which are given for the recent invention of stories on account of the presence in them of soldiers, apprentices, or cannon, pipes, and other modern things. These very things, like expressions in the language of the present day, are changed in the mouths of the narrators, and one can surely depend upon it that in the sixteenth century instead of soldiers and cannon they used *Landsknechte* and muskets, and the invisible hat was a *Tarnhelm* in the age of chivalry."

In the notes to the first volume no reference is made to the locality from which the story comes, a fault which was repaired in the second volume. Eighteen stories in the first, and thirteen in the second, volume are without parallels or references; the *Pentamerone* is cited in the notes to thirteen stories in the first, and to five in the second, volume; Straparola is mentioned six times in the first, and three times in the second, volume; the *Gesta Romanorum* is cited once in the first, and three times in the second, volume; Perrault is mentioned six times, all in the first volume; Madame D'Aulnay twice in the first volume, and Mlle L'Heritier once. There are seven references to Scotch ballads, etc., in the first volume, and one in the second. There are two mentions of English sources in the first volume. There were few German collections of popular tales in existence at that time; Büsching's *Volkssagen*, Musäus' *Volksmärchen*, *Kindermärchen*, Erfurt, 1787, *Feenmärchen*, Braunschweig, 1801, are the ones most frequently cited.

The sources of the stories of literary origin are given with care, and it was not difficult to find parallels for this class. There are eleven such stories in the first, and fourteen in the second, volume. Some of these were taken from German collections of *facetiae*, such as Montanus' *Wegkürzer* (No. 20, "Von einem tapfern Schneider"), Frey's *Gartengesellschaft* (No. 32, "Der gescheite Hans"), Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst* (II, No. 59, "Der undankbare Sohn," II, No. 65, "Die drei Faulen"), Hans Sachs (II, No. 61, "Das junggeglühte Männlein," II, No. 62, "Des Herrn und des Teufels Gethier"). The editors also made use of mediæval Latin poems (II, No. 58, "Das Eselein," II, No. 60, "Die Rübe"), old German plays (II, No. 24, "Der Jud in Dorn"), Old High German poems (II, No. 67, "Schlauraffenland"), as well as memoirs, anecdotes, *Volksbücher*, etc. In some cases the editors went far for their material. No. 6, "Von der Nachtigal und der Blindschleiche," is taken from the *Mémoires de l'Académie celtique*, and No. 8, "Die Hand mit dem Messer," from Mrs. A. Grant's *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*, London, 1811.

In a passage from the preface to the first volume (*Kleinere Schriften*, I, 324) the editors say: "It is also certain that in the course of time the *Märchen* continually reproduce themselves. For this

reason their basis must be very old, as is proved, in some cases, for nearly three hundred years by traces in Fischart and Rollenhagen. It is beyond doubt, however, that they are much older, even if the lack of notices makes direct proof impossible. A single but sure proof follows from their connection with the great heroic epic and the indigenous animal fable."

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[*To be continued*]